

PRIMITIVE MAN

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PEACE AND WAR IN HINDU CULTURE

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SOMEHOW or other Hindu India and ideas of war do not seem to be consistent with each other. The name India brings us a vision of peace, of meditation, of tranquility and of philosophy, and the wanton killing of human beings seems entirely foreign to the culture. But an examination of some of the facts will show that India was far from a peaceful country in both prehistoric as well as in historic times, and that militarism has always flourished in India.

Leaving their primitive home somewhere in Central Asia, adventurous bands of Aryans, the precursors of the modern Hindus, came to India, whether in quest of food or for plunder and conquest we can only guess, and after putting the aboriginal inhabitants to the sword, they settled in the northern sections of the country now known as India. These precursors brought not only their culture with them, but also were imbued with a fierce warlike spirit and a hatred for the people they finally conquered. Unfortunately the conquered people have left us no record of these early combats, and our only account of this long war of centuries is handed down to us by the Hindu poets in a collection of hymns

known as the *Ṛg-Veda*, a work of absorbing interest in as much as it throws a flood of light on the origin of the myths and religions of all Aryan peoples. It has also the distinction of being the oldest work in the Aryan world. It consists of 1028 hymns comprising over 10,000 verses, the number of words is computed at 153,826, and there are altogether 432,000 syllables. As can be imagined, the *Ṛg-Veda* is really a one-sided description of these wars, but a study of it clearly demonstrates the attitude of the conquerors towards the conquered.

A great part of the Hindu mythology contained in the *Ṛg-Veda* makes the warlike spirit quite clear, and constant references are made to the wars with the aborigines. One of the most important deities of the ancient Hindus was Indra, who was also the favorite national god of the Vedic period and the warrior god. He is primarily a thunder god, and his especial feat was to conquer the demons of drought and darkness; but frequent references are made in the *Ṛg-Veda* to the victories of Indra over the Daśyus, or the dark-skinned human foes of the Aryan invaders. Among his anthropomorphic traits he is said to eat the flesh of bulls, buffaloes and so on, and is spoken of as being born. His chief friends and allies are the Maruts, who are described as assisting him in his warlike exploits. He slays the demon Vṛtra with his metallic bolt, releases the waters and places the sun visibly in the heavens. He is spoken of as the one compassionate helper, as the deliverer and advocate of his worshipers, as their strength, and as a wall of defense. According to Macdonell, Indra is pre-Vedic, for his name occurs in the Avesta as that of a demon, and the term Vṛtra-slayer as the designation of the god of victory occurs there, though unconnected with Indra. It is therefore possible that there was already in the Indo-Iranian period a god resembling the Vṛtra-slaying Indra of the *Ṛg-Veda*. Indra is addressed in about one-fourth of the hymns of the *Ṛg-Veda*.

Another great deity of the *Ṛg-Veda* is Varuṇa. He too is invoked along with Indra as the god of warriors. In one hymn we read:

"Earth's ends appear enwrapt in dust, O Varuṇa
And Indra; now the din has mounted to the sky;
The onset of the warriors rolls close up to me:
Come hither with your aid, O ye that hear my call."

And a little further down:

"Both sides in battle conflicts call upon you two,
O Indra-Varuna, intent on gaining wealth,
Where once ye helped Sudas with all his Trtsu host,
When by the ten kings' hostile forces hard pressed in fight."

And again, comparing the qualities of Indra as the slayer of Vṛtra, and of Varuna as the guardian of order, we read:

"The one in battle conflicts slays the demon foes,
The other evermore his sacred statutes guards,
We call on you with well-turned hymns, O mighty ones:
To us, O Indra-Varuna, protection grant."

We see then from the above sketch of only two mythological gods how important war was to the ancient Hindus, and later on in the course of our study we shall see that the veneration of heroes is carried down to modern times, and that war-like qualities are looked upon with greater respect than purely peaceable qualities. Talking of these ancient Hindus, Romes Dutt says in his masterly "History of India" published under the editorship of Prof. Jackson of Columbia University: "Every able-bodied man was a warrior and was ever prepared to defend his home and his fields and his cattle with his strong right arm. Every Hindu colony or tribe, while attentive to the worship of the gods and to the cultivation of the various arts of peace, was at the same time alive to the fact that its national existence depended on constant readiness for war. And the great conglomeration of Hindu tribes, which spread from the banks of the Indus to the banks of the Saraswati, consisted of hardy, brave, and warlike peoples who maintained their footing in the land and their independence and national existence by constant struggles and a determination to win or die."

Leaving the domain of mythology and coming down to the purely historic period we find that war and militarism have been a dominant passion with the Hindus at all times. The army of Chandragupta Maurya, whose reign terminated about 298 B. C., was not a mean one. His dominions included the country now called Afghanistan, the ancient Ariana as far as the Hindu Kush range, the Punjab, the territories now known as the United Provinces of Agra, Oudh and Behar, and the peninsula of the Kath-

iawar in the far west, and probably also comprised Bengal; in other words, he was master of all India north of the Narbada. Chandragupta maintained the traditional "four-fold" army, namely, elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry, and his military organization does not betray any trace of Greek ideas. Vincent Smith says of the Maurya army: "The force at the command of the last Nanda was formidable, being estimated at 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots and 6,000 fighting elephants. The Maurya raised the numbers of the infantry to 600,000, and of the elephants too 9,000. But his cavalry is said to have mustered only 30,000. The number of his chariots is not recorded. Assuming that he maintained them as in the time of his predecessor, that each chariot required at least three, and that each elephant carried at least four men, his total force must have amounted to not less than 690,000, or in round numbers 700,000 men. Megasthenes expressly states that the soldiers were paid and equipped by the state. They were not a mere militia of contingents. It is not surprising that an army so strong was able both to 'overrun and subdue all India' as Plutarch asserts, and also to defeat the invasion of Seleukos, whose force must have been far inferior in numbers. According to the *Arthaśāstra* an Indian army was organized in squads of ten men, companies of a hundred, and battalions of a thousand each. Chandragupta probably followed the same practices."

Several centuries later, in the 7th century, A. D., the great Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang came to India. The account he has left us of the Indian army agrees in the main with that given above. He says that the army was composed of four divisions, and that officers rode in chariots. The war elephant was covered with a coat-of-mail and his tusks were provided with sharp barbs. While describing the army of Harsha of Kanauj, Hiuen Tsang credits that king with possessing originally 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry, and 50,000 foot. After some years he is said to have increased his war elephants to 60,000 and his cavalry to 100,000. The Chinese traveller does not make any mention of chariots, neither does any one else after this period. So it is probable that chariots fell in disuse before the seventh century.

The weapons used in warfare were both offensive and defensive. Of the former the infantry used a straight-edged broadsword

suspended by a belt from the shoulder. Besides this, javelins and lances and spears were used; and arrows were employed as projectiles. Arrian tells us that the arrow was discharged with the pressure of the left foot on the extremity of the bow resting on the ground, with the string drawn far backwards and that "there is nothing which can resist an archer's shot—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence, if such there be." During the protohistoric and historic periods arrows were tipped with arrowpoints of iron and bronze. But in prehistoric times chert, jasper, flint, agate and chalcedony arrowheads were used. In the United States National Museum in Washington there is a collection of minute stone implements of different shapes, the use of which has not yet been definitely explained. Some of these implements were undoubtedly arrow points. These minute implements coming from the caverns in the Vindhya hills belong to the neolithic period, but Wilson in describing them says that in India "there was no such hiatus between the paleolithic and the neolithic periods, and that the series of implements run from one period to another, their difference being accounted for by the general progress from the lower to the higher civilization." One weapon peculiar to India was the wheel or disk, *çakra*, which was thrown by the land with a twisting motion; this weapon is mentioned in many ancient texts, and the present-day representations of the gods carry this weapon. Of the defensive weapons the principal were the shield and the coat-of-mail.

One of the most important works on war and peace among the ancient Hindus is the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, whose author was Cānakya or Kauṭilya, a Brahman minister of Chandragupta Maurya. The *Arthaśāstra* is divided into 15 books or chapters. These chapters lay down general rules for the conduct of the king, give injunctions for the appointment of ministers and high priests, describe the important institution of spies or secret agents. Then follow a chapter on the king's council and one on the duties of ambassadors. The rest of the book gives rules for the king's sons and wives, for his daily routine, and for securing his personal safety. In the *Arthaśāstra* it is said that the duty of the superintendent of the armoury is to supervise the manufacture of certain weapons of offense and defense. There are instructions for the arrangement and care of these military equipments and an

interesting list of weapons used in ancient Hindu warfare. Two kinds of weapons are recognized: the fixed and the movable, some of which today could very well be classed as heavy and light artillery. To the heavy artillery belong:

sarvatobhadra or a cart with wheels capable of revolving rapidly, and thus throwing stones in all directions.

bahumukha or a tower situated on top of a fort, provided with a leather cover or canopy and facing all directions. From this tower a number of archers or sharpshooters directed their arrows.

viśvāsaghāti, literally meaning "treacherous," or a cross beam above a ditch at the entrance of a fort which was so placed that it could be dropped on the approaching enemies and kill them. It probably served the same purpose as the portcullis of the Tower of London.

Of the movable engines of war may be mentioned the *pañčālika* or a big wooden board with sharp points on its surface which was placed in the water outside the fort to stop the onward march of the invading army; the *devadaṇḍa* was a long pole with iron nails attached to it, and was placed on top of the wall of the fort; and the *sūkarika* was a leather bag filled with cotton or wool to protect towers and roads against stones thrown by enemies, and served the same purpose as the sand bags used in the trenches in Flanders.

The *Arthaśāstra* further mentions eleven kinds of weapons, among which are included a leaf-shaped weapon fitted with a handle, a rod with edges shaped like a boar's ear, bows made of palm, bamboo or horn, and three varieties of swords; swordhilts were made of ivory, wood and bamboo-root. Of the purely defensive implements of war are mentioned the *jālika*, a coat covering the whole body, the *paṭṭa*, an armless coat, the *kavača*, a coat made of detached pieces, and covering the head, trunk and arms, and the *sūtraka*, a covering for the hips and waist only. All these were made of chain-mail or of hides, hoofs and horns of porpoise, rhinoceros, bison, elephant or cow. And from a passage which says that: "Physicians with surgical instruments and appliances and healing ointments and bandages, and women with food and drink should stand behind encouraging the fighting men", it appears that the military organization included medical and ambulance departments.

This book, the *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* is important not only to gain an insight into the mode of warfare of the ancient Hindus, but it also gives us a very clear picture of Hindu foreign policy. The theory of politics expounded there is substantially the same as the one advocated several centuries later by Niccolo Machiavelli in his *Il Principe*. Just as Machiavelli says that the prince who "best personated the fox had the better success", so does Čānakya unblushingly say that "intrigue, spies, winning over the enemies' people, siege, and assault are the five means to capture a fort" and that "skill in intrigue or diplomacy is better", for the clever diplomat can always overthrow kings who are superior in warlike spirit and power. The same work describes a moral ruler as *vijigīṣu* or "ambitious of conquest"; and lays down the policies that he who is inferior in strength to another must make peace with him; he who is superior in strength should make war; whoever thinks "no enemy can hurt me, nor can I hurt my enemy" should observe neutrality; those provided with ample aggressive means should attack their enemy; the weak should seek protection; to accomplish an object a ruler should make peace with one state and war with another, and so on.

It is fair however, to mention that the *Arthaśāstra* did not meet with universal acceptance, and one at least, has left us his opinion of the book in no very uncertain terms. In the seventh century, Bāna, King Harsha's friend, wrote in horrified tones:

"Is there anything that is righteous for those for whom the science of Kauṭilya, merciless in its precepts, rich in cruelty, is an authority; whose teachers are priests habitually hard-hearted with practice of withcraft; to whom ministers, always inclined to deceive others, are councillors; whose desire is always for the goddess of wealth that has been cast away by thousands of kings; who are devoted to the application of destructive sciences; and to whom brothers, affectionate with natural cordial love, are fit victims to be murdered?"

This passage hardly needs any comment. Bāna's aversion towards war, and his hatred for the Brahmans or the priests are self-explanatory. We see here how deeply he was influenced by Buddhist doctrines, and we know that Harsha of Kanauj became more and more a follower of Buddha in later life, and forbade the slaughter of anything living or the use of flesh as food under

pain of death without hope of pardon. Little wonder then that Bāna, his intimate friend and biographer, should be so bitter against Čānakya who advocated force and ruthless destruction.

From what I have said before it may erroneously be imagined that the Hindus were entirely pitiless in their wars. Speaking on this subject, Dutt quotes several authors and says: "The laws of war were more humane among the Hindus than among other nations of the world, and Āpastambha declares that 'the Aryans forbid the slaughter of those who have laid down their arms, of those who beg for mercy with flying hair or joined hands, and of fugitives', while Bandhyayana says: 'Let him not fight with those who are in fear, intoxicated, insane, or out of their minds, nor with those who have lost their armour, nor with women, infants, aged men, and Brahmans.' Megasthenes also vouches for the humane laws of war among the Hindus. 'For whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war to ravage the soil and thus reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even though the battle is raging in their neighborhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger; for the combatants on either side, in waging the conflict, make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain, quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire, nor cut down its trees.'" But the Hindus did not always remain humane in their warfare.

Towards the close of the tenth century a Turkish slave was sold to Alaptagin of Ghazni. This slave later became known as Amīr Naṣir-ud-Dīn Sabuktagin, and was virtually the founder of the Muhammedan dynasty in India. In 986 A. D. he made his first raid into Indian territory, and came into conflict with Raja Jaipāl of Lahore. Hard pressed by the army under Sabuktagin, and being unable to withstand the specially severe winter, Jaipāl asked for peace. Sabuktagin wished to grant it, but his son Maḥmūd of Ghazni advised him not to do so. On hearing that his advances for peace have been refused, Jaipāl wrote to Sabuktagin in the following terms. "Perhaps you do not know the custom of the Hindu warriors. When they have lost all hopes for their own lives, they cast all they possess in the fire, they blind the elephants, horses and buffaloes, they throw their women and children into

the flames, then they fight in such a manner that they themselves are killed. Now, that time has come. Should you grant us the peace that we desire, it will be a great kindness on your part; but if you do not, you will repent it." If this is indeed true, a more desolate picture can hardly be imagined; and the feelings of the conqueror may well be compared with those of Napoleon on his arrival in Moscow.

Two of the great Hindu epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*, are both full of the warlike deeds of their respective heroes. The former deals with the exploits of Rāma, and especially with his wars against Rāvana, the demon-king of Lañkā, the modern Ceylon. And the latter is in the main a glorification of the wars of the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

An important festival of modern India is the *Daśahārā* or *Vijayā Daśami*. Principally in the Rajput and Mahratta states *Daśahārā* is a very special holiday. It commemorates the triumphal return march of Rāma two days after he had killed Rāvana. The principal object of worship on this day is the *shami*-tree, the *Prosopis spigicera*, because the Pāṇḍava brothers of old had once tied their arms to the branches of a specimen of this species. Among the Mahratta chiefs this day was considered the most auspicious day for starting on a military expedition, and many of the historical expeditions were started on the *Vijayā*, or success, day; and on this day young children are ceremoniously initiated into the intricacies of the alphabet.

Another important institution for the proper understanding of Hindu society is the caste system. The Aryan Hindus, as we know, were divided into three main divisions: the Brāhmaṇs, or the priests or the law-givers, or rather what would be termed today the intelligentsia; the Kṣatttriyas, or the warriors; and the Vaiśyas, or the husbandmen. As they are considered at the present day, the Brāhmaṇs occupy the highest position, but in my opinion it is an open question whether they have always enjoyed this position. Several years ago, while writing on the origin of the caste system, I made a suggestion that the Kṣatttriyas alone could anthropologically be termed Aryans, and that they were probably regarded as higher than the Brāhmaṇs. Since my paper was published a gentleman from Ceylon has sent me several references from South Indian literature substantiating this hypothesis.

How far it is valid, it is too early yet to say. It suffices here to mention that as regards the actual status, little, if any, difference was made between a Brāhmaṇ and a Kṣattriya.

The Kṣattriya, as a caste, is almost extinct, and in certain parts of India it is totally extinct, but the veneration for heroes continues, as a few examples will prove conclusively. I have already mentioned Rāma, the hero of the *Rāmāyana*. He is celebrated throughout India, from Kaśmir to Cape Comorin, from the Bay of Bengal to the Indian Ocean, as a model of all that is good, and as a celebrated hero. As a historical fact, he undoubtedly was one of the four sons of King Daśaratha of Oudh, of the so-called Solar race, and therefore a Kṣattriya. After his death, Rāma was apotheosized, and was converted into one of the most popular incarnations of Viṣṇu. And to this day all living persons remarkable for great personal valour or strength are liable to be converted into gods at the least opportunity. Not very long ago a number of Hindus in the Punjab formed themselves into a sect of Nikkal Sen worshippers. The explanation of this new sect is that General Nicholson was so admired for his bravery by his followers that they were determined to worship him, after first corrupting his name to the Hinduized form Nikkal Sen. The General endeavoured to put a stop to this absurdity by punishing them, but it only filled them with greater awe and clearly demonstrated what a mighty god this Nikkal Sen was. Another sect in Orissa worshipped Queen Victoria as its supreme divinity. I may give another example from Bengal, the most progressive and the best educated province in the whole of India. About 60 years ago a young and ambitious Bengali boy, having a bad attack of *Wanderlust*, left his native village, and after roaming over the continents of Europe and North America, finally joined the Argentinian army as a simple private. Through his bravery and courage he was later promoted to a Colonel. He settled down in the Argentine Republic, where he died only recently. Today the name of Col. Sures Biswas is a by-word on the lips of every Bengali man, woman and child. Had he lived a few years earlier, who knows, perhaps he too might have attained the dignity of being the chief god of the Biswas sect, or at least, the tutelary god of his native village. Two of the most famous women of India are Padmini and Laksmi Bai. They are famed not for their feminine qualities, but for

their heroism. The former, attended by her ladies-in-waiting, threw herself on a blazing pyre rather than live a life of disgrace when her husband lost the battle, and Laksmi Bai, the Rani of Jhansi, died at the head of her army in a field near Gwalior, where, dressed in male attire, she was fighting against the British under the command of Sir Hugh Rose.

In this hasty sketch I think I have clearly demonstrated the militarism of the Maurya kings, but have passed over in silence the golden age of Indian history. This golden age was the Gupta dynasty which was founded by another Chandragupta who reigned only a short time till about A. D. 330. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Samudra-gupta, who reigned for about 40 or 50 years, and was one of the most remarkable as well the most accomplished kings recorded in Indian history. His first undertaking on ascending the throne was to subdue such princes in the Gangetic valley who did not acknowledge his authority. After successfully accomplishing this he brought the wild tribes under control, and then invaded the Deccan, and advanced so far south in the peninsula that he finally came into conflict with the Pallava ruler of Conjeeverum, near Madras. At the close of Samudra-gupta's reign, his empire was the greatest in India since the days of Aśoka. His military achievements I need not comment upon any more here; they are too well known. Jayaswal writing in the latest *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society* (xix, 1933, p. 204) says of Samudra-gupta that he did not overdo militarism, and that he was fully conscious of the value of a policy of peace, and that after his second campaign he never undertook any expedition, "but gained his object through diplomacy and peace by bringing the Shāhānushāhi, the Hill States, the Republics, and the Colonies within the folds of his empire and the sphere of his imperial influence." Be that as it may, Samudra-gupta killed the free spirit of his country, he destroyed the Mālavas and the Yaudheyas, who were the nursery of freedom. But on the other hand, under Samudra-gupta the Hindus became literary empire-builders outside of India. Kumārajīva made a literary conquest of China, and his translation of the *Diamond Sutra* became a national classic in Chinese literature, from which, according to Professor Giles, "Chinese poets and philosophers have drawn inspiration and instruction." The Kaundinya missionaries socially and cul-

turally conquered Cambodia, and left for posterity the magnificent temples of Angkor Vat; merchants and artists made India a wonderland for foreign eyes; and the aristocracy of intellect and ability was raised to such a standard as was hardly found again in the country. But yet the Hindus could not remember the name of Samudra-gupta with any feelings of gratitude, for he, like the other Guptas, was a tyrant to Hindu constitutional freedom; and hence, when Alberuni came to India, he was told that the Guptas were a wicked people, thus verifying the assertion of the immortal Shakespeare:

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones."

But let us now be more charitable, and think that the Gupta period, in spite of its militarism, was yet the Golden Age of Hindu India; let us remember only the good deeds of Samudra-gupta and his successors, and forget the imperialism.

In conclusion, may I remark that hero-worship has been known among all peoples, and at all periods. Whether as an ethnographer or as a Carlyle we find hero-worship everywhere; and it has always been a dominant trait in Hindu life. War has been glorified, and peace has been advocated only as a substitute, as a diplomatic measure to be cast away as soon as convenient. From earliest times the Hindus have been adherents of armed force, rather than of peace and harmony. But with the introduction of Buddhism and of Jainism in India, cessation of hostility and the theory of fraternal love became the dominant theme, and thenceforth the people became divided into two factions, and the same conditions are seen in modern Indian politics. The followers of Gandhi, who himself is a Jain and an adherent of the principle of *ahimsā*, are those who do not believe in violence as a means for the furtherance of their ideals, whereas the extremists, basing their arguments on what the Aryan Hindus preached and practiced, hold that violence and bloodshed will eventually bring about their deliverance as nothing else will. The tendency however, in modern India, backed up by the teachings of Gandhi, is towards pacifism and tolerance. Whether pacifism or militarism will prevail in the end, no one can say yet. But to me it seems, that as far as India is concerned, in any conflict between Brawn and

Brain, the former will always be preferred, but if that be found insufficient, then Brain will become the second choice, or should I say "Hobson's choice." As long as we are weak and helpless we shall clamour for "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*," but once we find ourselves in a position to do so, our motto will be: "*De l'audace, encore de l'audace, et toujours de l'audace*."

PEACE AND WAR IN CHINESE CULTURE

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THE Chinese have not been a dominantly warlike people. For more than four thousand years their ideal, like the ideal of their philosophers and statesmen, has been one of peace. I believe it may be truly said that there is no more peace-loving people in the world. There is something absolute about their will against war, an attitude developed both in their theoretical ideals and in their practical activities. This holds true as regards not only international relations but also the relations of individual Chinese to one another. Some of the evidence for these statements will be sketched briefly in the present paper.

On one occasion when Confucius was asked to settle a dispute he said: "In arbitrating litigation I am like anybody else. The really necessary thing is to get people to have no litigation".¹ On another occasion when replying to a question concerning military tactics he remarked: "With the appurtenances of worship I have indeed some little acquaintance. But as for military matters I have never made any study of them."²

While the Chinese were the inventors of gunpowder, they never utilized this invention in killing human beings through military operations, until more recent centuries. In fact, in ancient times a soldier had no respected rank in society, but rather the reverse. "Good iron", runs an old Chinese proverb, "is not used for making a nail; good man is not used for making a soldier". It was

¹ Anecdotes, XII, 13. All quotations and citations in present paper are from the original Chinese sources; all of these works have been translated into Indo-European languages and are readily accessible.

² Anecdotes, VIII, 1.

considered a disgraceful thing for a woman to marry a soldier. The warrior was neither in honor nor in respect. Soldiers were looked down upon by the people.

Most families in China had in their homes an altar for their ancestors, and still have. At each altar there is a tablet inscribed with the objects of worship, which are: first, Heaven; second, Earth; third, the Emperor; fourth, the family's ancestors; and fifth, masters or teachers. The soldier does not come within any of these five honored groups. Again, the following are the four honored social classes ranked in order of honor: first, scholars; second, farmers; third, working men; and fourth, merchants. The soldier class finds no mention here. A further sidelight on the soldier's status, or lack of it, is shown by the following saying from Mencius: "Those who are skillful in fighting should suffer the greatest punishment; the next greatest punishment should be meted out to those who unite princes in leagues against other princes".³

In the main the Chinese people have not only hated war but have condemned whatever might encourage the fighting spirit. "Bravery in fighting, or fighting and quarreling itself, is one of the five things which are pronounced 'unfilial' for such bravery or quarreling would easily endanger one's parents".⁴ It may be recalled that whatever, in the Chinese sense is "unfilial" is looked upon as a very grave sin.

When quarrels or disputes occurred, it was the custom to bring them for settlement, not to official courts and judges, but to the seniors of the villages for arbitration. Or else the seniors might on their own initiative volunteer their good offices to settle such disputes. To appeal to the courts was considered a disgrace or misfortune to the family. So long as the people paid their taxes, no serious breach of the peace occurred, and the officers of the national government practically played no part in maintaining peace.

Another indication of the Chinese attitude towards peace and war is found in our literature. Unlike the *Iliad* or *Beowulf* or the *Chanson de Roland*, our Chinese literature does not sing the

³ Mencius, IV, i, XIV, 3.

⁴ Mencius, IV, ii, XXX, 2.

praises of the war-like spirit or of heroic martial deeds. The literature of the period of the Emperors Yao and Shun of the third millenium B. C. simply describes the glory of the golden age of peace and the prosperity and peaceful conditions of the people of that time. The Book of Odes of the Chow Dynasty of the first millenium B. C., one of the great masterpieces of Chinese poetry, also reflects and describes the peaceful conditions prevalent during the Chow Dynasty. In all this great masterpiece of Chinese poetry, one can hardly find any poem in praise of the warlike spirit.

When the Emperor Yao⁵ resigned and turned over the imperial responsibility to Shun, he gave the latter the following advice: "Shun, Heaven gives you the throne; govern in conformity with the moral code; if you fall into disagreement with the states of the four cardinal points and these states suffer because of you, your power will perish".

Thus it is clear that the ideal governmental policy was "to make the near happy and the distant contented".⁶ If the peoples of the neighboring countries did not have respect for a Chinese prince or emperor, it was the duty of the prince or emperor so to cultivate the civic virtues that these people would be attracted and come to China. According to Lao Tse, the emperor or prince should not say: "I am the sovereign and consequently have absolute right to declare and wage war".⁷

Confucian morality teaches that we are all brethren within the boundaries of the Four Seas,—the Four Seas designating the Universe. Consequently children should love not only their own parents, but also the parents of others. The subjects or citizens of a country should love not only their own sovereign but also the sovereigns of other countries. Furthermore the duties of a country include the duty of respecting neighboring countries and loving the subjects thereof.

The three essential virtues which Lao Tse advised princes to cultivate were: charity, simplicity and humility.⁸ Thus those who expected to be rulers of people should reach their goal, not by

⁵ Yao Tien.

⁶ Anecdotes, II, 1.

⁷ Tao Teh King, 67.

⁸ Ibid.

means of force but by means of virtue. "Supreme goodness", figuratively speaking, is like water. Water does good to all beings living and non-living. It does not struggle to attain a high level. It finds its way to the lower places in which few desire to live, but by so doing water gives the greatest happiness. Thus it is evident that he who makes himself humble and sympathizes with others will have no enemies.⁹

To govern the people by virtue or morality is called Wong-Tao; to rule them by force is called by a quite different name, Pa-Tao. According to our Chinese ideals and traditions, people have the right to rise against tyranny. Mencius once said: "A person who has been conquered by force is certainly not content of heart; but a person who has been convinced by virtue is perfectly content of heart."¹⁰

The Chinese conceive of the world as a place in which all humanity dwells and, in which we should all treat one another as equals. The concept of nationalism in its exaggerated sense is hardly found in the classic literature of China. The Chinese writers speak rather of "society" or globe or universe than of nation.

If an internal struggle or a political campaign took place, what happened? The period from the downfall of the dynasty of Chow until the unification of the Empire by Tsin Hsi Hoang Tih (484-225 B. C.) was known as the "Period of Warring States". This is supposed to be the earliest chapter of internal struggle in Chinese history. During that period, there were two tendencies: on the one hand, the failure of the central political authority became apparent, and on the other, there was a growing ambition of several feudal States to strive for the leadership in ruling the country.¹¹ It must not be forgotten, however, that the Tartars' invasion from the North in 770 B. C. had caused the removal of the capital of the dynasty of Chow from Sianfu to Loyang. This aggression created a disruption of the social and political order in ancient Cathay. This showed that so far as her vital interests were not affected, the rulers of Ancient Cathay would attempt to avoid war as far as possible.

⁹ Ibid., 20.

¹⁰ Mencius, II, i, III, 2.

¹¹ Marcel Granet, *Chinese civilization*, London, 1930. See ch. iii on the "Epoch of the Leaders and of the Combatant Kingdoms," pp. 22-34.

If a foreign power invaded Chinese territory, what happened? According to the teaching of Lao Tse,¹² "we should not resist the invader: the incomplete will become complete; the curved, straight; the empty, filled; the old, renewed". Apparently his meaning was: Do not resist the invader by force, but by virtue. Thus what is incomplete or at fault in the invader will be completed and corrected. The victor will be vanquished in virtue by the victim. That this ideal did not remain entirely in the field of theory is suggested by many facts in Chinese history illustrating the defensive rather than the aggressive national attitude, toward contiguous peoples and even toward invaders. It was as a defensive measure, to prevent the downfall of the Hans, that the Great Wall was built under Tsin Shih Hwang Tih (225-206 B. C.). When the Tartar people started to invade northern China, the Chinese government about 317 A. D. moved the capital to the Yang-Tse valley. When the Khitans and Golden Tartars invaded Kaifeng fu, Honan Province, the dynasty of Sung in 1127 A. D. set up a new capital in Hangchow. Against the invasion of the Mongols and the Manchus in the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively, there was no bloody serious resistance.

Altogether for about one thousand years China has been partially or wholly ruled by conquerors from the north. While in sheer force they may have been superior to the Chinese, yet after a certain period of foreign domination, the invaders were assimilated in thought and training to the Chinese themselves. But even where the Chinese had the power they did not by force impose their culture upon other peoples and nations. In fact, China has traditionally welcomed good elements from the culture of other peoples. Thus she absorbed much of the art, sculpture and architecture of Hindustan and borrowed from the northern Tartars a number of their cultural traits, such as the use of chairs and of some musical instruments. It has been traditional in Chinese history to recognize the fact that mutual benefits may be derived from the intercourse of peoples and races, just as she has traditionally recognized that such benefits may come from the mingling of family strains within their own territory. Thus it was and still is the custom that a boy should not marry a girl bearing the

¹² Tao Teh King, 22.

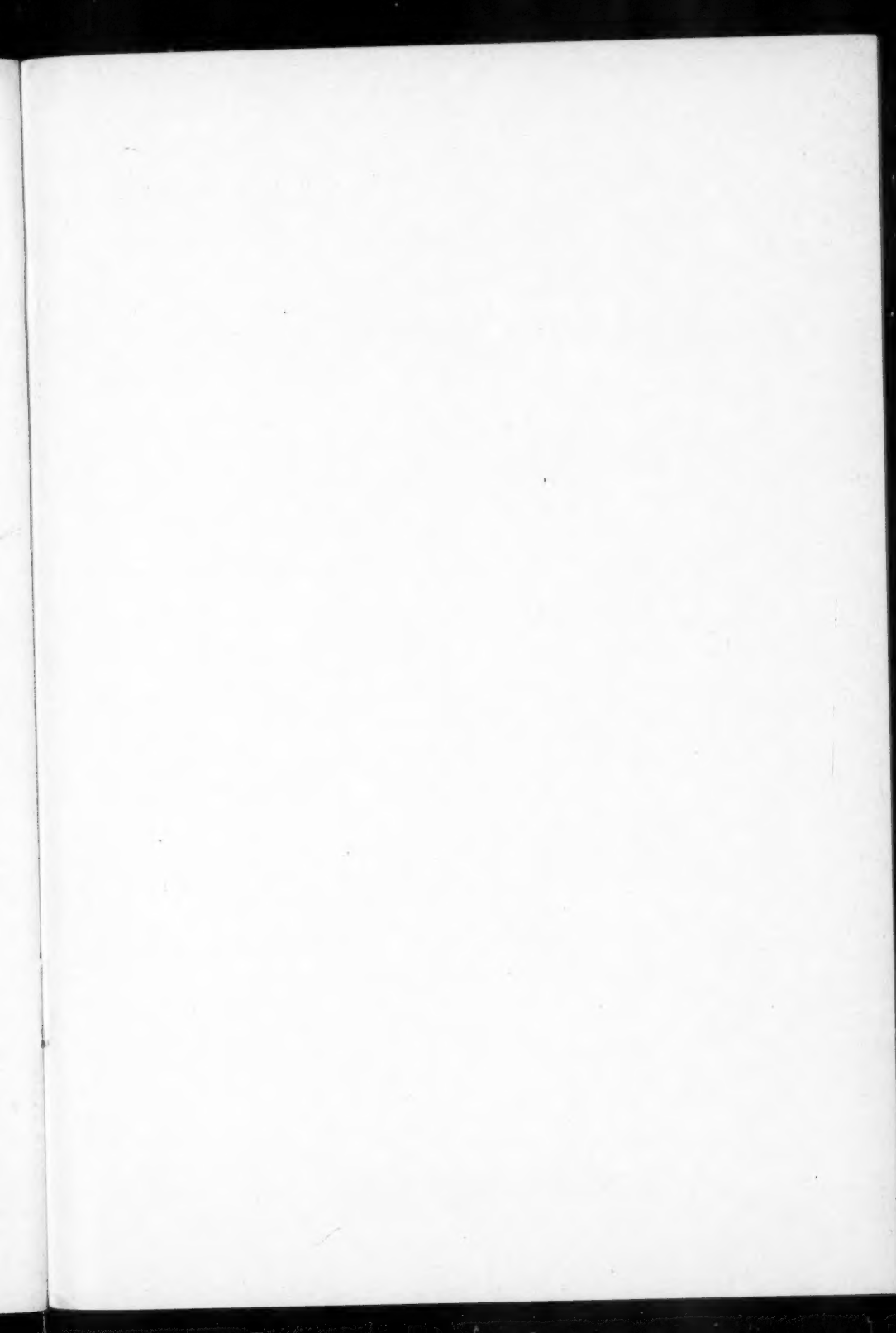
same family name. Interracial and mixed marriage has been encouraged.

Hatred of foreigners did not always exist among the people of ancient Cathay. Although the nickname for foreigners "foreign devils" was given to them in the nineteenth century, this should not be understood as something springing spontaneously from the traditional Chinese spirit. The giving of this nickname was rather the consequence of the unjust oppression of China by the forces of western nations during the last century, especially during the time of the famous Opium War.

A word may here be added regarding early indications of international cooperation and arbitration in Chinese culture. Nearly two thousand years before Christ, the Emperor Yu called together at the foot of the Sacred Mountain of Tou the first assembly of princes of the different countries. Tradition has it that about 10,000 people attend the assembly, but this number is in all probability a little too high. About 1150 B. C. Chow Wen Wong cut a tunnel through the Sacred Mountain to facilitate communication, and at the same time sent a message to the courts of all the neighboring princes, that this tunnel was to be opened to trade for all the peoples but would never be used for purposes of military expeditions.¹³ From early times in Chinese history arbitration had been recognized as a fundamental method for the settlement of disputes between governments. The Prince of Tsi in 681 B. C. first organized what was called the "Joint Assembly of Princes". This Joint Assembly held regular meetings for a long period.

In this short paper we have put together a few of the facts going to show that Chinese culture has been marked by a willingness to live peacefully with neighboring peoples and to promote amity among nations through pacific settlement of differences. China has no thought of territorial aggrandizement. All she wants is freedom from foreign invasion and peaceful friendship with helpful exchange of benefits among our brethren of the universe.

¹³ Shu King.



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